

*Monsieur Colbert's* Jean  
Baptiste

G H O S T,  
OR,  
FRANCE  
WITHOUT  
BOUNDS.

BEING  
A Particular Account by what ways  
it has attain'd to that Supream Grandure,  
and relating the Secret Intreagues  
of the *French* Kings Ministers at the  
Courts of most of the Princes and  
States of *Europe*, with Remarks there-  
upon, also some Reflections on the In-  
terest of those Princes.

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L O N D O N,

Printed for *Edward Golden*, 1684.

## Some Causes

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## THEORY

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1960-1961

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THE  
EPISTLE  
TO THE  
READER.

The following Tract seems to have been written by a Hollander, and is a kind of Compendium of many of the Artifices and Measures used by the French Court for several years last past, in order to the attaining to that formidable Power and Greatness it now stands possessed of. If the Author had been as much

much a master of Logick, as he appears to be Curious in prying into the Secrets of Cabinets, the French Parliaments refusing to ratifie the Peace of [the] Pyrenees, opened him a large field wherein to have shewn his Talent, and perhaps might easily have brought to the Bay all the Pleas that have hitherto appeared of the Most Christian Kings Ministers. But since he thought not fit to urge what a maiming it was of the Royal Prerogative in that Ministry to own, the invalidity of a Treaty, tho' Signed and Ratified by the Prince, only for want of the Peoples Consent, which is, as I take it, a kind of Lopping or rather Blasting one of

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## The Epistle to the Reader

the fairest Flowers of the Crown,  
I shall not trouble my self to push  
on that Argument for him. Yet  
though he affords us but a scant-  
ling of Reason, we must own him  
a man of Intelligence, and that  
there are many particulars very  
well worth our knowledge in these  
gleaning of his after so many Wri-  
ters upon the same Subject; tho'  
for my part I should be liath to  
stand surety for the verity  
all. However there is a  
merit in making them F  
since it serves to show the  
and prudent Conduct of  
vernment, which shelters  
those Miseries our Nei-  
groan under; this and i  
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The Epistle to the Reader.

is what I hope will give the Reader satisfaction, which he is not in any wise to expect from the Stile, which has the usual ruggedness of the North, and which being in a hurry, I had not time to smoothen and slick, tho' here and there I made a shift to purge it of the filth and ordure of a Republican Pen.

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T's no difficult matter to discover the Origine of the Mischiefs which we labour under at this day : Those who wou'd but take the pains to make reflexion upon what has occur'd within these twenty years in *Europe*, would with me, grant, that if sad Experience had but taught us to be wise, we should not now see our selves reduced to the miserable Estate we are in. For 'tis not of late only, that *France* began to infringe Treaties, which seem'd the most Sacred. Its Ambition could not Curb itself so long from appearing. But we have been either so weak, or so blind, as not to think of opposing its Designs, until it was too late : Wherefore we can only impute our misfortunes to our selves, and sincerely own, that if we now undergo the punishment of our Imprudence, it is a punishment we have richly deserv'd.

And indeed to whom ought we to attribute the weakness of the *Spaniards*, than

to our selves, who have so often contribu-  
ted to reduce them to the Circumstances  
they are in at this day ? Was it not easy for  
us to see, that they only supported them-  
selves by the means of the Cabals on Foot  
in *France*, in the time of Cardinal *Maza-  
rine*, and that if the Prince of *Conde* had  
abandoned them, it had been Adieu to their  
Fortune, and Repute ? Yet notwithstanding  
we had seen they had lost the assistance  
of that Prince, who by the Peace of the  
*Pyranees*, was returned into his Duty, and  
that *France*, to the prejudice of so Holy,  
and so Authentick a Treaty, continued not  
only to foment the troubles of *Portugal*, but  
to send thither succours at several times,  
though we had seen, I say, that the Peace  
was only a Masque to its Ambition, we still  
suffer'd our Neighbours to be oppress'd,  
without saying a word, as if Policy ought  
not to have taught us, that 'twas time to op-  
pose the Designs of a Nation, which will  
never be contented, until it has glutted its  
Ambition with the Conquest of the whole  
Earth.

Yet with how much Audaciousness,  
not to say Impudence, does it maintain that  
all its paces are conformable to the Peace ?  
Would it not still insinuate that all that pass'd  
in

in the business of *Portugal*, pass'd without its Order, and while it sent Men and Money thither, did it not outwardly forbid its Subjects to bear Arms in that service, to whom, on the other side it insinuated underhand the going to the assistance of that Crown, as the only place capable of acquiring them Esteem and Reputation. This notwithstanding, what did it not say to the Ambassador of *Spain*, who highly Complained of these Infractions, and who ~~w~~ before his Eyes in the Metropolis of the Kingdom, the *Marquis de Beauvieu* rais'd publickly a Regiment of Horse for the service of that Crown, after having treated in appearance with the Ambassador of *Portugal*, but in effect with the Court of *France*? It would needs have, that all this Ambassador urg'd, was but effects of his Imagination, just as at this day it endeavours to insinuate into us, that it has not any design of making War, though for some months past it has laid waste, and eat up a Country which does not belong to it, and to which it would not have any lawful Preten-sions, if Reason and Justice were the Rule of its Actions.

And as then we gaz'd upon all its Attempts, and Motions, without budging in

the least, we do little more now, though we see our selves upon the point of being the unhappy Victims of its Ambition? How many in the State have found fault with sending Succours to the Spaniards, and if they receive any from us, are not both they and we indebted for the so doing, to the Prudence, and Sagacity of the Prince of Orange, who seeing farther than others, could not endure that all possible means are used for our Oppression, without doing what became, and lay in him for prevention.

For this reason it is, we see this Great Prince so much the mark of the Persecutions of *France*, that cannot esteem Virtue, but when it suits with its Interests, and has used all the little Politick Tricks imaginable, to revenge itself on his Generous Oppositions.

But to return to my Subject, I say, *France* endeavoured to cast a Mist before the Eyes of the Spanish Ambassador, who was far from being slurr'd upon, when an unsuspected Encounter caus'd him to do things with more heighth; and no longer to disguise his sentiments. *France* had Treated with *Mont-George*, who was kill'd in these last Wars, and was then a Captain in

*Candale*, being a brave Man, and loving War above all things, about Conducting Officers, and Soldiers into *Portugal*. Now *Mont-George* being Embark'd with them, in order to his getting as soon as possible into that Country, having been taken by the *Spaniards*, who had notice of his departure for that time, it was forc'd to pull off the Mask, because the *Spaniards* already spake of taking off his Head. Whereupon a Courier was dispatch'd in all hast to *Madrid*: and the Court of *Spain*, seeing he was re-demanded by *France*, durst not proceed farther in that matter, for fear of drawing upon itself the War, which it was very willing to avoid.

So great a piece of Infidelity was followed with a world of others of the like nature, without any Potentates interposing his Authority, to bring these things to be regulated according to Justice. Not but that there were Guarrends of the Peace of the *Pyranees*, but not the least aid would they give unto the *Spaniards*, whom it was endeavour'd to oppress by so many indirect ways. The *Spaniards* too, whether that they were become insensible, or as is more probable, they knew their weakness suffer'd themselves to be thus Foo'd and goodmorow'd, if I may

use that word without shewing any Resentment, but by Complaints so little suitable with Soveraigns, unless they be followed with some effects ; so as others seeing they swallow'd all these affronts without saying ought, did not think themselves more oblig'd than they themselves to take their part.

Mean while, if their weaknes appear'd in any thing, it was undoubtedly in what happen'd at London between Mon. D' Estrades, and the Baron de Vatteville, Ambassadors of the two Crowns. For after the Baron de Vatteville had got the precedence of Mon. D' Estrades, at an entrance made by another Ambassador, he was not only disown'd by Spain, but Spain has for ever varnish'd its Reputation, by a shameful Declaration, which I dare not repeat , nay, which I dare not so much as call to mind, for fear of blushing upon its account. Yet if it be well remembred, the fault thereof ought to be attributed to other Powers, who shew'd themselves so passionate for Peace, that they took not any share in the Affront that was meant upon Spain, which seeing itself abandoned by all the World, was obliged to relax of its usual haughtiness.

The best Head-pieces then considering with what Arrogance *France* demean'd itself in that occasion, were of advice, that before it was suffer'd to gather greater Forces, endeavours should be used to oppose its Ambition ; but the voice of these wise Politicians, was only listned to by way of Conversation, and the blindness began to become so Epidemical, that they consider'd those who held such like Discourses, as People, who had more mind to create stirs, than foster Peace, which they thought so necessary to all *Europe*.

Nor did they begin to see clear, until that *France*, being no longer able to bear the yoak of Ease, resolv'd to make War in *Flanders*, under the pretext of some Pretensions as Chymerical as those now on Foot : But to which, an Advocate of *Paris*, whom they had been careful to cull out from among the most expert in puzzling of Causes, undertook to give a Varnish, and some Colour. Nevertheless an honest Man would have been very much puzzled, but this Advocate had serv'd his Apprentiship at the Bar, where for two Crowns they'll undertake the worst Cause that is, thought, that being much better paid for this, he should not neglect a thing that might make

his Fortune. Thus Interest having prevail'd over Truth, there quickly appear'd a *Manifest*, by which they endeavoured to make out, that though the King had renounc'd, by the Treaty of the Pyrenees, to what he might one day pretend in the *Low-Countries*, and elsewhere, upon the account of the Queen his Wife, this Renunciation was null, because that the Parliament would never be brought to ratify the Treaty.

This *Manifest* did moreover establish, that the Queen had a Right from that time over several Provinces, and to give this *Manifest* a Title, that might suit with what it endeavoured to insinuate, it was intituled, *The Rights of the Queen*. Now you must know 'twas the King himself who hinder'd the Treaty of the Pyrenees from being Registered, that so it might be a pretext upon occasion to thwart against what had been sign'd by the greatest Lords of *France*, and what he himself had sign'd.

Meanwhile, this new litigious pretension giving occasion to all the World to make Reflexion upon the little Faith of this Prince, could not sufficiently admire, that a great Monarch, who affected wearing the Quality of most *Christian* King, did things, which would have made the very Infidels

to blush, whose actions some took pleasure in relating, that by the Comparison of those of both Parties, they might the more derbase those of the King. And indeed they Query'd whether one was not obliged to keep ones word, and principally a word given so solemnly, sworn upon the Holy Evangelists, confirmed by a great Alliance, and in short, wherein had been us'd all that was thought most considerable, to render it the more inviolable. They Query'd, I say, whether any thing could fall---from so solemn an Oath, to which every one answer'd, that 'twas an Action that created a Terrour in Men, and merited a just punishment from God.

And indeed, a Man needs not be a great Divine, to know that Christianity, and the Church, which is but one and the same thing, teaches, that we are to keep our Faith, not only with a *Christian* Father-in-Law, but even with a *Turk*. There is a fine example of this in a *French* Gentleman, of the House of *Anglure*, and which his Descendants do still Pride themselves in at this day. The particular History of that Family does make mention, that one of their Ancestors having been taken in a Battel, by *Saladin Sultan of Egypt*,

after a long Imprisonment, was set at liberty, upon Condition he himself should return, and bring his Ransom, which *Saladin* had fix'd at a very considerable sum ; this Gentleman after being arrived at his own home, and had sold a good part of his Estate, to satisfy his Word, went back to *Saladin*, and told him, that he was come with the Ransom he had agreed upon, with him, and that if he pleased to name any Person to receive it, he would pay it him immediately down upon the nail.

- *Saladin* not dreaming of him, and when he had set him at liberty, never expecting to see him more, was so surpriz'd at his Generosity, that after having embrac'd him, and carel's'd him to a high degree, told him he should thenceforward have more Esteem for Christians, than he had had before ; that he not only remitted to him his Ransom, but also ordered his Treasurer to give him ten thousand *Frances*, which was a considerable sum at that time ; that he requested his Friendship, and desir'd him that the eldest of his Family might be ever called *Saladin*, that Posterity curious of knowing why they bore so extraordinary a name among Christians, might know at the same time the generous Action he had perform'd.

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Those of that Family have been careful to remember the request of *Saladin* to their Ancestor. All the Eldest of that Family have successively after one another, taken the name of *Saladin*, so that the Count *D'Estages*, who is the Eldest of that Family, is still at this day called by that Name.

If I might be allowed to make any reflections upon this matter, it would be no hard task for me to prove that the present Age is very different from the former. Heretofore a *Christian* kept his word with a *Turk*, and now a most *Christian* King does not keep his with his Father-in-Law. At this day the Descendants of a *Christian* are called *Saladin*, because their Father promised it to a *Turk*, and now a most *Christian* King neither minds the Word, which his Predecessors gave their Subjects of the Reformed Religion, nor that he himself has given them. At this day the House of *Anglure*, which is only the Family of a Gentleman, draws all its Glory from that their Fore-father executed the promise he had given a *Turk*, and now the House of *France*, which is the most August House of *Europe*, draws all its glory from infringing an infinite number of Edicts, which it has granted to *Christians*.

But to return unto my Subject, the French King grounding himself, as I have said, upon his imaginary Pretensions, and upon the Parliaments not having ratified the Treaty of the Pyrenees, resolv'd to break the Peace, and carry his Arms into Flanders. Mean while, as I cannot proceed on farther, without first giving an account of the Authority of this Parliament, for fear some should judge its Power extended as far as that of another Country ; it is convenient that it be known that the least Order of Council, Cashiers • all Acts of Parliament, and that its Power is now so limited, that though the matters in hand be only the interests of private Persons, the Council does often attribute to it self the taking Cognizance of 'em, and thus makes a mock of all the Parliament could Decree. Nevertheless its Authority was formerly very great, nay, and it's not long since, that it was to so high a Point, that it was look'd upon by all with Admiration, I mean the time of the Kings Minority, but that time is now so much chang'd, that a man may say, there's now no knowing the Parliament again.

And even in that time, I mean the time this *Manifest* appear'd in, the King had stript it of all its Priviledges, had banish'd all those

those Members out of it, who were suspected by him, because they stood well affectioned to the publick good, and to say all in a word, contemn'd it to that Degree, as to go to it no otherwise than in great Boots, and with a Cane in his hand. Nay, he plum'd it of its very name, as well as the name of all the other Tribunals, For to shew that none but he was Master, he caused an Edict to be issued forth, by which neither the Parliament, nor the great Council, nor the Chamber of Accounts, nor the Court of Aids ought thenceforward to be called more than the Superior Courts, whereas before they were called the Sovereign Courts: Nay, and he had publish'd another Edict too, which seem'd to me still more injurious, for whereas when there was a design of any new Subsidies, or of some other Innovation in the State, he was used to go thither in Person, to have his Edicts verifyed, he had ordered the Parliament to verify them upon a meer Note under the Privy Signet, which he most commonly sent by a Foot-man: so as that this August Tribunal, which had been instituted formerly, as a Man may say, to be the Mediator between the People and the King, and to save the one from the Tyranny of the other,

other; was it self oblig'd to buckle under his will and pleasure; for there was no more talking of making Remonstrances, which those of the same Company formerly made, to stir up Kings to have compassion of their People: And if any were allowed to be made, they were only such as were stufft with Flatteries, and Dissimulation; and just as certain Fathers make their Children sometimes kiss the Rods wherewith they come to Chastise them, in like manner were the People, who are the Kings Children, or at least, who ought to be so, to thank the King by the mouth of their Magistrates, for all the Impots he lays upon them, to satisfy the Profusions.

Nevertheless it was upon the Authority which the Parliament had in the Kingdom, that the King laid the Foundations of an approaching War, as I have already said: In effect, the King of *Spain* being dead, there straight appeared a small Tract, under the Name of the Rights of the Queen, in which it was indeavoured to be prov'd, that the Renunciation which the King had made to his Rights by the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*, was Null; seeing the Parliament could never be brought to verify the Treaty. That though this Renunciation were good,

good, which, however they were far from granting, it could not always subsist, by reason of the *Dauphin*, who had not yet Ratifyed it, and yet who had the greatest Interest therein, as being one day to be his Mothers Heir : In fine, this Treatise was only filled with trim words, and few reasons. For to begin with the first, true it is, the Parliament was us'd to verify what passed most remarkable in the Kingdom, but that this was absolutely essential, is what I deny, and which I shall endeavour to disprove. For Example, if a Marriage of a King be concluded with a Prince, the Parliament has nothing to do in the Contract, and we do not find it was suffered to take Cognizance of that of *Henry the Fourth*, with *Mary of Medices*; and to start a matter still of later Date, of that of the *Dauphin* with the *Dauphiness*. And yet in this occasion the thing perhaps was of as much moment as the Renunciation which the King made by the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*. Yes, but may be one or other may tell me that the species is very different, for a Treaty of Peace is concern'd in establishing the repose of the People, whereas a Treaty of Marriage only regards the establishing the Society of two Persons. I'll

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own with them that their reason is specious, but easy to refute. For if it be upon the account of the Interest of the People, that the Treaties of Peace ought to be Ratified by the Parliament, why does it not also verify Treaties of War, as well as Treaties of Peace. They will needs have that a Treaty which banishes War, and brings back repose into a State, instead of Troubles, and Confusion, which reign therein, are subject to verification, and will not allow that a Treaty of War, which must banish Peace, and bring along Disorder, instead of the repose which all enjoy, should be verified by Parliament, which nevertheless was only instituted to be watchful for the Preservation of the People. Let's rather say, that this Custom of thus verifying Treaties of Peace, was only introduced, since it was Enacted that Royal Gifts should be verified in Parliaments, and that those which were not so, should be of no consideration, and this to hinder Kings, who are commonly inclined to liberality, from giving away all their Patrimony, and so compelled for want of means, to vex, and oppress the People. Let's, I say, conclude that the Parliament seeing that by some Treaties of Peace, considerable alienations had been made,

made, and principally under *John* the first, to retrieve them out of the hands of the *English*, and since, under *Francis* the first, to retrieve them out of the hands of the *Spaniards*, had attributed to itself the Authority of verifying Treaties, to hinder thenceforward the Dissipation of the Crown Lands. But there's more, which is, that tho' it were a Law receiv'd in *France*, that the Parliament may find fault with those Treaties it has not verifyed, this ought to be understood, if the Treaties were not made in the forms, or that they were prejudicial to the Crown.

In what remains, there's no saying that *France* receives any prejudice by the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*, not but that this Treaty was concluded with all the usual Formalities. In regard of the Formalities, they had been so far observ'd, that this had kept the matter much longer depending, than was necessary for the repose of the People, who after so long a War, only breathed after Peace. For they thought it not sufficient that *Lienne*, & *Pimentel* had set their hands to the Treaty, but for the rendring it the more August to future Ages, Cardinal *Mazarine*, and *Don Lewis de Haro*, Prime Ministers of the two Crowns, would needs sign it themselves

elves too ; so as that one may say it was the most solemn, and authentick Treaty that has been of a long while. Besides they had observed therein all the Circumstances imaginable, namely, as holding the Conferences in a place, which belonged neither to *France*, nor *Spain*, which however is Note-worthy. For this shews they were willing then *Spain* should go Peer-with *France*, but since it will not be allowed, as I said just before, one may say it had been Ratified, but what rendred this Treaty free from all manner of scruple, not only by the King, but also by all *France*. In effect, the Principal among the Clergy, and Nobility, had signed the Contract of Marriage between the King, and the *Infanta*, wherein was contained the abovementioned Renunciation, so as that it was a mistake to say, that the Parliament, which can at most but represent the Orders of the Kingdom, would not approve a Treaty, which was already approved on by the King, by the Clergy, and by the Nobility.

In regard of what I said before, that this Treaty brought no prejudice to *France*, that will be also easie for me to prove. For tho *France* had then much the advantage over *Spain*, yet it is nevertheless to be consider-

red, that this advantage might one day turn against itself, being obliged to share his Conquests with *England*, which was then in its Alliance. Now without specifying by retail what are the dangerous Consequences which I might draw from this sharing, it's sufficient for me to say that the interest of *France* was not to give one foot to the *Englishman* in *Flanders*, who was a much more dangerous Enemy than the *Spaniard*. Besides, by this Treaty, *France* made sure of the greatest part of its Conquest, and changed into a certain Right, the Right of Nations, which was a Right subject to all the divers events of Fortune. In regard of what was objected, that the *Dauphin* had not ratified the Renunciation of the Queen, this is a feeble objection, and such as merits no answer. For tell me, I beseech you, a Father, and a Mother, do not they engage their Children, when they sign a Contract? And why had the *Dauphin* more right to disclaim what the King and Queen had signed, than those had, who live under the same Laws, and same Monarch?

All these considerations do sufficiently shew, that all that was in the Treatise of the *Queens Rights*, was only to impose upon the common people, and particu-

ticularly those of *Flanders*, who being once perswaded that the Queen had some right to their provinces, were capable of fomenting a Rebellion, to which they had other provocations, through the ill treatment, they received from the *Spanish Souldiery*, who for want of pay, broke out into several violences. Thus as it was a point of prudence, to prevent all ill consequences of this kind, by undeceiving them with the soonest, the *Baron d'Isola*, one of the Ministers of the house of *Austria*, set pen to paper, and made a small treatise, to shew the nullity of the consequences, which the Author of the tract of the Queens Rights, pretended to draw. And a great number of Copys, were distributed both in *Flanders*, *Germany* and other places of the neighbourhood. Nay some were transmitted into *France*, but the Court thinking fit, that their Nation should make its ambition, an Article of their Faith, made an exact search after the Stationers who had distributed them, two or three of whom were sent to the *Bastile*, and were in great danger of their Life, for as it was not allowed in that Kingdom, to write truth in matter of Religion, so too in matter of Policy, it was not allowed to speak it, or hear it from any one soever.

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For which reason as well those who bought this Book, as those who vended them, were obliged to skulk, as if they had done some great crime. But the more they endeavoured to constrain Peoples wills, the more they strove to render themselves free; so as all worthy People, not minding the prohibition that had been made, sought to satisfy their Curiosity.

By vertue of these imaginary pretensions, the King failed not to send to summon the Governour of the *Low Countrys* to remit into his hands the places he pretended to belong unto the Queen. And as he did a little doubt this Governour would not comply with his demands, with a powerful Army he follow'd the Person, he had sent to him, in order to the seizing them. His envoy bringing him back word, that the Governour of the *Low Countrys* had order from the King his Master, not to yield, up the least, he entred Flanders, took *Charle Roy*, *Ath*, *Courtray*, *Oudenarde*, and *Lifle*, while that the Marshal, *d'Aumons* with another Army, attack'd such Citys as bordered next upon the Sea. These Conquests which were made with great rapidity, amaz'd all the neighbouring Potentates. They thought it their interest, to stop the Course of these progresses

progresses, especially the United Provinces, who had no mind to so formidable, and so ambitious a neighbour. Whereupon they engag'd with the King of *England*, to sign a League, wherein the King of *Sweden* entered, by which these three Powers oblig'd themselves, to cause the two Crowns to lay down Arms, if not to declare against that which would not lay them down.

This League was call'd the triple alliance, and was in the issue so fatal to the *Hollanders*, as I shall shew in due place, that for ought I know, they quickly repented their having had any hand in it. A man of *Rochel* is said to have been the Person, who laid the first foundations of it; after having made all those Powers sensible, how distrustful it became them to be of the ambition of *France*. Be it as it will, *France* which never easily pardons those who have once offended it, knowing this man was in *Switzerland*, where he endeavour'd to insinuate the same thing into the Cantons, sent thither the two *Muzels*, the eldest of whom was a Captain of Cavalry, and the other Gentleman of the Horse to Mon. *Turenne*, to endeavour the seizing him. The affair was ticklish, and of a strange consequence, for the *Muzels* if what they came to do had been discovered

in Swisserland ; but having had the cunning, to conceal their design, and to trapan their man, as he was passing from one City to another, they brought him into *France*, where he was broke alive upon the wheel, after he had endeavour'd to baulk the execution, by an action more resolute than *Christian*. For having found in the Dungeon, where he lay a piece of glass, he made a shift with it, to cut off his privy members, and hid them under his straw bed, for fear the Gaoler, should chance to take notice of what he had done. But not having been able to stanch the blood so well, but that they still trickled down some drops, the Gaoler would needs see from whence this proceeded ; add to this, that his Colour did sufficiently speak him, not to be in good health, at length the Gaoler having perceived what he had hidden under the straw bed, with a great quantity of blood beneath, he gave the Judges notice of it, and as he was designed for a publick spectacle, they hastened his sentence. Whereupon he was condemned to be broken, and they fearing he would not have strength sufficient, to go as far as the place where they put other Criminals to Death, and perhaps too, he would not be alive, if they deferr'd his

Execution

Execution until the afternoon, as is the Common practise, they raised up a Scaffold before the Prison Door, and he was executed, the same instant.

The Triple Alliance, which *France* had not foreseen, did so startle that Crown, that though it had promised it self, the conquest of the better part of *Flanders* it was nevertheless obliged to lay down Arms; not but that it had above a hundred thousand men on foot, but as *England* and *Holland*, arm'd powerfully by Sea, and that *France* had not a Fleet capable of resisting such great forces, that Crown was afraid, that while its Arms were busied in *Flanders*, the *English*, joyn'd with the *Hollanders*, would make a descent either into *Britany*, or in *Normandy*, and cast a terrore into the very heart of the Kingdom.

*France* being thus brought, as it were by force, to make a peace, began to contrive, how to resent this outrage, and principally upon those who had most contributed thereto. And as people did generally attribute to the United Provinces, the repose then enjoyed through all Europe, all the French resentment fell upon it. But it was very cautious of letting it appear yet while. For as *Holland* was as yet in gbo

Terms with *England*, and *Sweden*, a way was first to be found out to separate it from those two Powers, which were still capable of being re-united together, for the interrupting its Designs, as it only watcht for an occasion, it quickly met with a very fair one, by a Controversy which happened between *England*, and *Holland*, about Commerce; for was it then from offering its Mediation, as at other times it had done, to accomodate the difference; on the contrary it endeavoured still more and more to irritate the King of *England*, and mean while caused a Treaty underhand to be proposed with the *Hollanders*, that so they might not entertain any thoughts of making their Peace with *England*. The *Hollanders*, who had often found the assistance of *France*, when they had any variance with *England*, still expected the same kindness, and the more, for that the *French* King still amuz'd them with a Treaty. But when they thought to have come to a Conclusion with him, to oppose the King of *England*, they were strangely surprized to hear that the *French* King had joyned himself to him, and that while the *English* attack'd them by Sea, the *French* were to attack them by Land, with such

numerous, and such amazing Forces, that it had not of a long while been known that France had had the like. The United Provinces were then very much perplexed, for though they were extreme Potent in Ships, and Mony, they had no Soldiers just ready to Oppose the French King, whose Troops were already on their March through the Land of Cologne, which was the way he took to attack them.

Now to have gone about raising any in their own Country, besides a long Peace, which the Provinces had enjoyed for several years, had rendred their Subjects more capable of Commerce, than of War, there was no great feats to be hoped for from them; the new Soldiers not being over-fit to resist Disciplin'd Troops. Whereupon the Hollanders sent into Germany, to make Levies there, and to treat with some Princes, from whom they were in hopes of Succours. But all Europe was so startled at the prodigious Preparations of France, that each was willing to keep his own Troops at home, not knowing yet, but that under the Pretext of attacking Holland, the French King might invade Germany.

The Hollanders had hardly more than five and twenty thousand Men, for though they

they had distributed Comissions to all those who proffered themselves to serve them, yet as those new Troops were not on Foot, there was no reckoning upon them, until they were come to the Rendevouze. But what still more and more weakned the State, is, that *de Witt*, *Pensioner of Holland*, who had much Credit in the *Republick*, had ever excluded the Prince of Orange from Affairs, and as he was a better Politician than a Soldier, and yet would be meddling in all Affairs, went on very disorderly, and in great Confusion. There was still another thing which did not a little contribute to the ruine of the State, but which was then unknown, namely, that the *French King* knew all that passed in the Country, by the means of one *Mombas*, who was in the Service of the Commonwealth, that had confided in him a considerable trust in the Soldiery. A *Frenchman* he was by Nation, so that the King found it an easy matter to gain him to his Interests, by the means of *Desfroches*, Captain in the Prince of *Condes Guards*, and being his Relation, had prevailed with him to take a Journy into *France* the Winter before, where he had discourtst the Prince.

All these Reasons were capable of entirely

ruining the State, as is easy to judge, if God had not resolv'd on the contrary. Mean while, the *French* King being just ready to enter the Provinces, the States Assembled, in order to resolve upon what course they should take to provide for their Defence. The Prince of *Orange*, who, notwithstanding all the Cabals of *de Witt*, had been Elected Captain General of the State, was of advice to abandon the places above the *Rhine*, to put ten thousand Men into *Mastricht*, and go and Encamp with the rest at *Bodegrave*, whose Situation was advantageous to cover *Holland*. Mon. *d' Obdam*, and *Celidrek*, who spoke for the Nobility, were of the same advice; but the others having been of the contrary Opinion, it was resolved to preserve all those Places, which nevertheless were strangely weakened by a part of the Garrisons which were drawn out of them, to be sent to *Mastricht*.

Mean while the King, after having Encamped for some time before *Charle-Roy*, marched towards *Mastricht*, and staid twelve or fifteen days at *Wise*, a small City in the Land of *Liege*, in which he put a Garrison. There he waited for intelligence from *Mombas*, who having given him to understand, there were few or no men in the Cities

Cities above the *Rhine*, he passed the *Meuse* at *Wise*, and after having put to flight some Troops, which were posted in an Advantageous place, he came before *Orsay*, which was invested at the same time. The Gouvernour did not want Courage, but as the Town was none of the strongest, and that besides, it had but a very small Garrison, it yielded up the next day. The French plunder'd the Town, and hanged all those of their own Nation, who were within it, and who had taken Arms against them, and among others, a man of Seventy years old, who was the Canonier of *Orsay*. The Army marched to *Rhineberg*, and *Dossery*; the Commander of the Place delivered it up without firing one piece, for which reason the Prince of *Orange* caused his Head to be taken off in a short while after. The Governor of *Wesel* made little more resistance, though his Town was capable of maintaining a long Siege, and having delivered it up to the Prince of *Conde*, after the Trenches had been open for a day or two, he merited a punishment akin to that of *Dossery*: namely, that the Executioner passed a Sword over his head, leaving him indeed his life, but overwhelming him with Infamy. *Baris* was attack'd, and taken at the same time.

by Mon. de Turenne, after which the Prince of Conde advanced into the Country, where he took Deudekom, Rees, and Emmerick, with the same facility he had seized on the other Places.

These Victories though they cost not much blood, made the King of France pass for a *Cæsar* in his Army. For they saw that he, like him, could say, I came, I saw, I overcame. Wherefore to maintain the Reputation he began to acquire, he would pass the Rhine, as that Emperour had formerly done; but resolved to pass it after a much more Noble, and more Heroick manner. For that Emperour had only passed it over a Bridge, and for his part he would pass it swimming.

Two Gentlemen of the Country Neighbours of the Tolhuys, whose names I don't remember, went to the Prince of Conde at Emmerick, and offered to shew him a passage, where there were but a hundred Paces swimming. He received their offers with satisfaction, and so much the more, in that the French saw a stop to their Conquests, because the Issel defended the entrance of the Country, not only by reason of its depth but also upon the account of the Retrenchments that had been made on the other side, and,

and which were hard to force. The Prince of Conde after having caress'd those two Gentlemen, and promis'd them great rewards, commanded the Count de Guiche, to go along with them, to see whether he might trust to what they told him: They brought the Count de Guiche just opposite to the Tol-buys, where plunging first into the Water, the Count de Guiche, follow'd them with his Gentlemen of the Horse, while that his Troop staid upon the shoar of the Rhine. The Count de Guiche, having seen that they had said no more than what was true, return'd to give an account to the Prince of Conde, and that prince sent the King Word of what pass'd, and that if he would be of the party, he might fall upon the Rear of the Enemies, who not suspecting the least, were only careful to guard the Issel. The King being excited the same time, both with glory and ambition, went to the Prince of Conde's Camp, who commanded an Army, apart from his, and after having supp'd with him, he march'd all the night towards the Rhine, whether he came about half an hour, or thereabout, before day.

Mean while the Prince of Orange, who had found more fidelity, among the Com-

mon people, than in the Nobility, having had notice given him by the Peasants, that the King had some design on that side, he sent *Mombas* thither with Horse and Foot: *Mombas* had plaid Bankrupt to his honour, by treating as he had done with the Enemies; but though this occasion was still favourable to him, for the continuing his wicked designs, yet fearing he could not carry on his Treason so swimmingly, in the encounter, but that it would run some danger of being suspected, he be thought himself of writing to some Deputies of the State, who were about the Prince of *Orange*, that there was no likely hood, the *French* should think of passing the *Rhine*, and if they pleas'd, he would put himself into *Nimmeghen*, whither he had great reason to believe, they were bent upon their *March*. He took his time to send this Letter, when that the Prince of *Orange* was gone out of the Camp with a Detachment; and as these Deputies, thought him faithful, and that besides, he represented to them the affairs, as pressing, they sent him Word, to do according to what he had written. The Prince of *Orange* being returned to the Camp, was much surpriz'd to hear what *Mombas* had done and as he already suspected him of Treason' and'

and that this last action, so very far from so undeceiving him, that it confirmed him still, in his opinion, he caused him to be taken into custody.

Mean while he gave his Command to *Wurtz*, who was a *German* by Nation, and whom the Common-wealth had taken into its service, and ordered him to march in all haste to the *Tol-buys*, with some Troops, which were detach'd from the Army. *Wurtz* did what he could to retrench himself in haste, but seeing the *French* already appear'd on the other side, he lodg'd his Infantry in his Retrenchments, and caus'd his cavalry to advance along the River. The King being come on the brink of the *Rhine*, caus'd Cannon to be brought at the same time, and pointed it upon *Wurtz* his Cavalry, who seeing trees all along the *Rhine*, put himself with his Troops among them, thinking himself thereby the better sheltered from the Cannon. Mean while in wene the *French* into the *Rhine*, one after one, and many of them were drown'd, being swallow'd up in a Whirl-pool. Others seeing this, took the advantage on the left, and pass'd for all the World like Cows, which follow in the tail of one another.

*Wurtz* his Cavalry saw them pass, with-

out flinching, until they perceiv'd some Troupers, who now began to come out of the Water, and form a squadron. Then they came from under the trees, where they stood, but instead of pushing the Enemies that were return'd into the Water, they made a halt upon the brink of the River, from whence they made their discharge, which being at too great a distance, was without any effect. The little resolution which the Cavalry shewed gave courage to the French, who would never have dared to have stood, their shock, if they had but followed them into the Water, and not stood gazing, and suffer them to strengthen their squadron with their Companions. Wurtz his Cavalry having thus quitted their ground, the French rallied, and waited for their Companions, who still pass'd the River, for the most part swimming, and some by Boat.

The Prince of Conde being thus in a Boat, with the Duke of Anguien, and some great Lords of the Court, he caus'd his Boat to turn back, towards the Water-side, when he perceiv'd the Duke of Longueville had thrown himself into the River, and ran the risque of being drown'd. He took him into his Boat, and endeavouring to pass as soon as possible, he was no sooner arrived

on the other side, than that he drew up his Troops in Battel Array, in order to attack the Enemies Retrenchments. The *Holland*:*Infantry*, finding themselves weak in sorry Retrenchments, and had besides placed all their hopes in the Cavalry, by whom they saw themselves abandoned, thought less of making resistance, than of demanding the Quarter, which the Prince of *Conde* had offer'd them, calling out to them aloud, that they should lay down their Arms. Meanwhile the *French* still advanc'd, without one man so much as making a shot, either of their, or on the *Hollanders* side, which made the King believe, who saw all that pass'd, that he should have the victory, without its costing him one drop of blood: But the Duke of *Longueville*, having made a debauch, just before he parted from *Emmerick*, advanc'd up to the very brink of the Retrenchment, and fired his Pistol; whereupon the *Hollanders* vex'd, they had not fired sooner, and fancying they had no more hopes of quarter left, made their discharge, which being made, as it were in the very mouths of the *French*, killed a great many of the most considerable Persons among the Enemies. The Duke of *Longueville*, who had begun the noise, was killed stone

dead, the Prince of *Conde* wounded, and many others, whom it would be too long to name.

The *French*, who had been startled at this Discharge, being recovered from their fright, Rallyed, and Attach'd the Retrenchments, where they found some Resistance, especially at one Barriere, where was an Officer, whose head was hoary with years, but whose old Age had as much Vigour as the most Resolute Youth. But being at length overwhelmed with numbers, the rest sought their safety from their heels, not thinking of asking Quarter, which then they thought was to no purpose.

The *French* having no more Enemies to fight, plundered the Castle of *Tol-buys*, and put all the Isle of *Betue* under Contribution.

This was not the only advantage they reaped from the passage of the *Rhine*; the *Hollanders*, who were then afraid the *French* should come and fall upon them behind, abandoned the *Issel*, and retreated to *Utrecht*, where the *Populace* would have Sacrificed *Mombas* to its Resentment, whom they accused of what had newly happened. The Prince of *Orange*, who knew he deserved Death, yet was desir-

desirous he shold be first questioned, and perhaps put on the Rack, for a full Discovery of his Treason, gave order he should be saved by a back Gate, and bid him in Hay, to save him from the Peoples Resentment. Mean while, the King in Person took the City of *Doesburg*, and Mon. *Turenne* those of *Nimmegeben*, *Swolli*, *Deventer*, *Grave*, *Arnheim*, *Sksnc-kenskens*, the Fort of *Creveceur*, with a number of other Fortresses.

Thus did *Utrecht* fall into the hands of the French, but without their being obliged to lay siege to it. For while the King was still before *Doesbourg*, the Burgher-masters brought him the Keys, as if they had been afraid of not having a Master soon enough. The Marquis of *Rocbefort*, who was in favour at Court, was sent to be Gouvernour of that Town. But as he had not yet much experience in War, he failed of seizing *Muidem*, which was abandoned, by the taking in of which nevertheless they had made sure of *Amsterdam*. In effect, it was easy, being Master of *Muidem*, to hinder Ships from going in or out of *Amsterdam*, for they must of necessity pass by *Muidem*, which they would not have dared to have

have done, if the *French* had been Master of it. Thus *Amsterdam* had been brought to the necessity of coming to render itself up, as *Utrecht* had already done. Not but that if the King had still come and presented himself before the Gates of the City, they would have brought him the Keys; for every Individual was in that Consternation, that they only thought of saving their own Families, without otherwise troubling themselves about the interest of their Country. Nay, and without staying for the Kings sending to summon up the delivery of the Town, a Council was held in the City, whether they should not go to meet him, to desire he would be pleased to take it into his Protection, as well as all the Inhabitants, and there was a great danger of their coming to this Resolution, if two Burger-masters, whose names ought to be Consecrated to Posterity, the one of whom was called *Offe*, and the other *Hassenaer*, had not encouraged the rest to hold firm, and rather call the Sea to their succours, which had been a safer Remedy for them, tho they were brought to the utmost necessity, than to receive the *French*.

After the King had taken the City of *Doesburg*, he went to Encamp at *Zeist*, two Leagues from *Utrecht*, where Ambassadors from the States came to demand Peace of him. But as he was too haughty upon the success of his *Arms*, he proposed such disadvantageous Conditions, that the Ambassadors were obliged to return home, without coming to any Conclusion. Mean while, when they were arrived at the *Hague*, it was resolved they should go again, because that Affairs on the other side were in so lamentable an estate, that they thought themselves over-happy, in that they might receive any manner of Conditions.

Mean while there was still another difficulty, which was, that the *French King* would not come to any Conclusion, without calling thereunto the King of *England*, whose Demands were still higher, and greater.

The Ambassadors of *Holland* being returned to *Zeist*, and having met with the Ambassadors of *England*, a new Treaty of Peace was proposed, but still very difficult to conclude. For beside, that *England* did not bate the least of its first Pretentions, those of *France* were so exorbitant, that it had

had been much better for the State to have perisht, than to have granted them *France* demanded a Medal every year, in form of Tribute, with all the Charges of the War, which it made to mount to immense Syms. *England* demanded to have several things in the *Indies*, which belonged to the Republick, yielded to it; so as I have said, the State had almost as good have abandoned all, as to have concluded so disadvantageous a Treaty. The Republick having notice of all these things by their Ambassadors, who came home again from *Zeist*, without having effected ought, resolved to break the Dikes of the Sea, which was, as I hinted before, their last recourse in the utmost necessities. But what made them the more willingly proceed to this resolution, was, that the People rejecting the Disasters of the State, upon those who had the Conduct of it, had Massacred the Pensioner of *Holland*, with his Brother; so as that they were in hopes, that as the State had Chang'd its Master, so also its Fortune would be Chang'd.

The States proceeding to that extremity, as to break their Dikes, gave them time to think of their Affairs. They sent to the Princes of *Germany* the Propositions of

Peace

Peace made them by the two Kings, for the better poffefling their minds in what they imagined of the Ambition of *France*. They represented to them the piteous estate they were reduced to, and that if they deferred longer affording them assistance, it would be perhaps too late, when they should be willing to do it. That the Waters indeed saved them for the present, but that they would not save them always. That the Winter being come, the *French* would pass over the Ice to attack them, and that since they had not been able to resist them, while the Provinces had been so flourishing, there was little likelyhood they could do it now, being fallen so low from their ancient Reputation.

These Remonstrances, the truth whereof was undoubted, seeing the sad Estate the Republick was reduced to, affected the Emperour, the Marquis of *Brandenburg*, and several other Princes of the Empire. The Marquis of *Brandenburg*, as being one of the moft Potent, first took the Field, to succour it; and as the King knew he had to do with a brave, determinate Prince, and besides a great Captain, he decamped from *Zeift*, and returned to *France*. But first, he thought fit to try if he could render him-self

self Master of *Bois-le-duc*, which was shut up on one side by the Garrison of *Creveceur*, and on the other by that of *Endevelen*. *Bois-le-duc* is a place situated just in the midst of a Marsh, yet it is as weak in its out-works, as it's strong in its situation. Nevertheless there's a Cittadel on the side, which looks towards *Holland*, with two Forts on the side of the *Mastricht* Gate; but all this would not be reckoned for any great matter, if, as I have said, its situation did not render it almost inaccessible. The King establisht his Quarters at *Bokstel*, but while he was preparing all things for the Siege, God, who had begun to take *Holland* into his Protection, sent Rains, which continued for four or five days, without ceasing, so as the Country is low and level, it was immediately filled with water, that a body would have said they had opened the Sluces. The King thinking the fair Weather might return, staid eight or ten days longer at *Bokstel*, but seeing it did not leave off raining, he decamped, and returned home.

The Prince of Orange, who after the Death of the Pensionary, had all the Authority confided in him, seeing the People in some manner of repose by the French King,

Kings Departure, thought of contenting them farther, by the punishment of *Mombas*, whose death they had long demanded. He had been Conducted from *Utrecht* to *Woerden*, and from *Woerden* to *Nicur bruk*, whither the Army of *Holland* was retreated. There the Prince of Orange called a Council of War, and began to examine his Affair, which appeared daily worse and worse for him. In short, as his Conscience did not leave him any repose, and that he thought himself absolutely ruined, he was contriving how to make his escape, which nevertheless was very difficult, for he was carefully Guarded, having People always with him, Sentinels at the Door, and at the Windows of his House. As he was musing after what manner he should go to Work to get away, one of his Friends got a Letter conveyed to him, by which he gave him notice that he had but three days more to live, if he found not the means to escape. That the Council of War was resolv'd to make him serve for an example to others, and that it was his part to take his measures thereupon. *Mombas* seeing himself menaced at this rate, spoke the same day to one of his Keepers, who promised him in considera-

tion of some Money he gave him, to let him escape out at the Window, when he should be set Sentinel at that Post, which happened on the morrow. This Affair being done, *Mombas* caused a Spanish Officer to be sounded, who was to be upon the Guard the same day, at an inundation, to know whether he would let him escape that way, and get him a Guide ready. The Officer loving Money, as well as the Guard before-mentioned, agreed for a hundred Pistols with him, who made him this Proposition, in consideration of which, he promised to get him a Guide ready, and to let him pass when he pleased. This Bargain being thus struck, *Mombas* gave one called *Villate*, a hundred Pistols, this *Villate* having been his Gentleman of the Horse, and the Manager of this Affair; to carry 'em to the Spaniard, but *Villate* instead of giving them him, went away with them, whether that naturally he was inclined to pilfering, or perhaps there remained something due to him from his Master, and that he was content to pay himself with his own hands; be it as it will, as *Mombas* was still reckoning upon this Bargain, all his Care now was to deceive those that kept him in sight, to do which, he went this way to work.

First,

First, he began to complain of a great pain in his Leg, sent for a Chirurgeon, shew'd him his Leg, which by a wound he had formerly had, remained bigger than the other, and ask'd him what was to be done with it. He caus'd also a request to be made to the Prince of Orange, that he would send him one of his Chirurgeons, and these two Chirurgeons, the one as ignorant as the other, concluded a plaister should be laid on't, and accordingly sent him one to be applyed for that purpose. By this means he kept his Bed, without giving any fuspicion, and the day being come he had resolved to make his escape on, he sent for *Tobacco*, and told his keepers he would come and smoak with them, after Supper. But on a sudden pretending, he had no mind to it, he went again to Bed before their Eyes, and desir'd them, they would go smoke in the Antichamber, for that the *Tobacco* incommoded him. They having seen him in Bed, were far from believing he had any thought of making his escape, complyed with his desires, but *Mombas*, getting immedately out of Bed, took the plaister he had upon his Leg, put it upon his face, and leapt out of the Window, below which the Guard I mentioned stood Centinal. Thus

Thus did he traverse the Camp, without being known by any Body, whether by reason it was duskish and toward night, or of the plaster which disguised him. But being come to the *Spaniard*, he was strangely surprized to see that he refused to let him pass, unless he first gave him the hundred Pistols he had promised him. This dispute gave him to understand the roguery of *Villate*, but it being now no time to make reflexion on it, his thoughts were wholly set, how he should come off from this affair, which nevertheless he saw but little probability of effecting. For the *Spaniard* stood flat and plain, upon his having his hundred Pistols, before he let him pass, and *Monsbas* would not give him them, not having about him, near a hundred; In short being at this pinch, he was forced to make a vertue of necessity, and having turned his pockets before the *Spaniard*, he offered all he had by him: But seeing that would not content him, he told him he might do as he pleased, but that if he was the Cause of his being retaken, as it was not to be doubted, he would not fail to accuse him. That it became him to consider what he had now to do, and that he had nothing more to say to him. These Menaces start-

ed the Spaniard, and making him recollect himself, he took what *Mombas* was willing to give him, and let him tramp on with his Guide. *Mombas* entered into the Inundation, and went thus three Leagues, having the water up to his middle, nay, and often in danger of his life. But it was very just that a Traitor, who was the Cause of the Ruine of a whole State, should suffer in his turn, and though what he underwent, was pretty severe, yet was it not so much as he deserved.

*Mombas* being thus arrived at *Woerden*, with such Difficulties as are more easy to imagine, than describe, would have gone into the Boat which goes from *Woerden* to *Utrecht*; but when he was in, he perceived that a Woman, by whom he sat, knew him, and had named him to another Woman that sat by her. And as a Person that has done an ill thing, is ever under a Dread, and Apprehension, he went immediately out of the Boat, being resolv'd to take another way. And yet there was no other then that of the Causey, because the whole Country was overflowed, from *Woerden*, unto *Utrechts*. But being afraid that some or other might come to know him again upon the High-way, he

himself again into the Inundation, without any other Guide, than his Despair; for the Man who had Conducted him to Woerden, was trooped off, thinking he had no more need of him, and besides, there was no safety in seeking out another, nor having a farthing too to pay him, he thought he had no other Course than that of returning into the Inundation.

Being come within a quarter of a League, or thereabouts of Utrecht, out went he of the Water, but so wet, that he could not for shame go to the City in that condition. Wherefore he had his Cloaths dried at the first House he came to, and then entring the Town, he went to lodge at the Palace Royal, where he chanced to meet with one of his Nephews, who served in the Troops of France, where he was a Captain of Horse. But this Nephew seeing him enter, far from believing it to be him, he took him for a Ghost, for the Night before, a man came to the same Inn from Nicarbruk, and him who had told, as a certain piece of News, talk and whereof he himself had been an Eye-witness, that he had seen him beheaded: and this Rumor was so spread about the Town, that no body would believe that Mombas was arrived.

Mean while the Duke of Luxembourg who succeeded in the Room of the Marquess of Rockfort at Utrecht, was very much puzzled whether or no he should see Mombas. For on one side he would have been very glad to have got such useful hints and instructions as he was capable of giving, as being perfectly acquainted with the Country, yet he judged it not altogether Policy to give him a good Reception, for that this would manifest too openly the secret Correspondence that had been kept with him. In short being determined not to see him, he feign'd in the presence of those who told him, as a great piece of news, that *Mombas* was in the City, not to give it any Credit, adding, that sure he would not be so Impudent, after having borne Arms against the King, to come again and put himself into his hands. They all knowing what the meaning of this was, their tongues were hush'd from that time forwards, and there was no more talk of *Mombas*, than if no Body had known him.

For his part, when he knew the Duke of Luxembourg would not see him, away

D went

went he to the Prince of *Conde* at *Arnheim*, and as that Prince was full as Politick as the Duke of *Luxembourg*, neither would he speak to him, but in secret, and at an hour when all the world was still asleep. Whereupon he sent his Captains of the Guards to fetch him from his Inn at three a Clock in the Morning, and *Mombas* wrapt up in a great Cloak came to him in his Cabinet. There did he sell *Holland* the second time, declared the secrets of the State, at least those he had been able to know, before he had been taken into Custody; and after he had informed the Prince of *Conde* of all he was desirous to know, he retired to *Cologn*, there to stay until he had leave to return into France, which was another Grimace to deceive the World, thinking thereby to take away the suspicions that had been conceived of him. Whereupon some time after they let him know he might come to the Duke of *Luxembourg*, and he served for a Guide to that General, when he came to take *Woerden*, which the French had abandoned after they had had it once in Possession. He it was

was who conducted him before that Place, when the Prince of Orange besieged it, so as one may say, that as much care as before he had taken to conceal his Treason, as industrious was he then to blaze it abroad.

Now tho' all I have now said may seem to be rather the History of the War, than a Continuation of my Subject, which is to show the faithlessness of France, yet I should think it perhaps not so foreign as some may imagine, since I therefore call again to mind, the Ideas of so many Treasons and Perfidies : and indeed tho' there's no saying that the French Nation wants Courage, yet one may say, that it's very willing to joyn Cunning to Strength, without which we should not see it so successful in all its enterprizes. But let's add at the same time, that what makes it still succeed the better, is that mony costs it nothing to attain to its Designs. For passing at one leap from War to Peace ; let's examine, I beseech you, what Course it hath taken to separate all the Allies, and whether this Metal has not been of more use to it for that purpose, than all the Rhetorick of its Ministers. D 2 One

One of the greatest Obstacles to the Peace, was the difficulty of reconciling the interests of the Crown of *Sweden* with the interests of the Princes who had some things to clear and determine with it. As to the Crown of *Sueden* all its Interest was; that as it had been engaged in the War upon no other account than for the service of *France*, *France* should Cause all the Places to be restored it, which had been taken from it, either by the King of *Denmark*, or the Elector of *Brandenbourg*, or the Princes of the House of *Brunswick*. And the interests of these three Powers was on the Contrary, not to hear any talk of the Peace until all their Conquests were abandoned to them, or at least the greater part. Thus the difficulty was to reconcile such opposite Interests; but see now how this affair was brought about, and which made it no longer appear so impossible, as an entertainment that was given one day at the House of one of the three Ministers of *France*, being the same who had the secret of the Court. Among other things there was a Dish of Olives, and one of the Ministers of *Sueden* having found

found them extraordinary good, the Minister of *France* promised to send him a Barrel of them, and accordingly sent him a Barrel by his Secretary. The Minister of *Sueden* very much surprized to see that the Secretary of an Embasie should be the Bearer of such a business, but making no other reflection on it at first, he took the Barrel into his own hands, and finding it extream heavy, he asked him the reason. The Secretary told him, that he'd find when he opened it, but that the Ambassador of *France* desired that he would open it himself. The Minister of *Sueden* began to smell out then the meaning ; and having dismissed the Secretary, he broke open the Barrel, and found it to be full of *Lewis's* of Gold, among which he found a Letter, wherein were these words , *If you expect we should often give you Olives, you must grant us the Peace.*

Perhaps now may I be asked how it comes that I should get the knowledge of a thing , which ought to have been kept very secret both by the Minister of *France* and the Minister of *Sueden*. But to that I'll answer , how do so many

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things which pass in the Cabinet become Common? How come we to know of so many Enterprizes before they are put into execution? Moreover I must say, that *France* afterwards falling at variance with *Sueden*, did not much care tho' a secret was divulged which was no longer of any moment to it; nay, and on the contrary it took delight in sowing by that means a difference between the Prime Men of *Sueden*, where this business is now so much the subject of Common Discourse, that they attribute to it the rupture of the two Crowns. And indeed tho' the Homage which *France* • demanded for the Dutchy of *Deux-Ponts*, of the King of *Sueden*, was very sensible to that Young Prince, yet wise men believe it would not have been a sufficient Cause for a Breach, if the King of *Sueden*'s heart had not been ulcerated with the disadvantageous Peace which *France* had brought it to make. And it will not be improper to say here something of this matter, so much the more, in that during all the time I staid at *Paris*, I saw few *French* but did maintain that the King of *Sueden* lay under a great

great obligation to *France*, in that it would not listen to any Treaty of Peace, until all had been first restored it, that had been Conquered from it. But they know not that *Sueden* had been forced to yield up the Lands in *Pomerania* to the Elector of *Brandenbourg*, Lands in the Dutchy of *Bremen* to the King of *Denmark*, and lastly Lands in the Bishoprick of *Verden*, to the Princes of the House of *Brunswick*. But since I am here upon *Sueden*, I mean to tell after what manner it was stript of the Dutchy of *Deux-Ponts*, and under what pretext. The last Duke was still full of Life, nay and in good health, when *France*, perceiving this Country lay for its Convenience, projected, that as it had not yet bethought it self of its Right of Dependancy, under which Colour it seizes on so many Lands, to seize on this. Now you must know that the last Duke having no Children, the Dutchy fell after his Death to the House of *Sueden*, and not to the King of *Sueden* positively, because that Duke *Adolphus* pretended to exclude him, as being nearer by one Degree to him who possest it. The King of *Sueden* on the

contrary pretended that the Dutchy would one day belong to him, as being Son of the Eldest, wherein there was great probability. For tho' in many Places of *Germany* they have established that the nearest to the Dead succeeds in his Estates, yet it is to be observed that the use is contrary in the Electoral Houses, and principally in the Palatine House, which was the Family now in Issue. Be it as it will the *French* King having an itch to make the Latine Proverb good, which says that between two Persons that dispute for a Succession, there comes a third which ravishes it away from 'em both, sent Troops to seize on the Dutchy of *Deux-Ponts*, yet under pretext of keeping it for the King of *Sweden*, in favour of whom by this means he decided to the prejudice of Duke *Adolphus*. The Duke of *Deux-Ponts* who was still alive, as I have said, was not surprised to hear that the *French* Troops entred into his Country, because he was often exposed to their violencies: but he was strangely amazed when he knew they came to gather his Succession, of him I say who was still full of Life, nay and had not yet the least

least mind to dye so soon. Mean while the Troops being entred into the place of his Residence, he not only saw all his Country under slavery, but likewise his own Person. For as they very much doubted that a Prince of so Great and of so Illustrious a Birth, would hardly be accustomed to see himself under Tute-lage, and that it was feared he would call the Emperor to his Succour, they watcht him so narrowly, that one may say, he was rather in Prison than at Li-berty.

Mean while *France* being very willing to make sure of the King of *Sweden*, of whom it still had need, for all this passed during the War, let him know, that all it had done, was only to oblige him: so that this Prince not being able to imagine it had any bad Intentions, spoke of sending a Gouvernour into the Dutchy of *Deux-Ponts*. But while that he offered this Government sometimes to the Count of *Carlson*, his Natural Brother, in recompence of something he had taken from him, sometimes to a Prince of the House of *Baden*, the *French* King sent

ther the Prince Palatine of Berkenfeld, and so set the Prince of *Baden* and Count *Carl-San* a shaking of hands, they before beginning to look a little askew upon one another, as two Persons are use to do who aspire to one and the same thing.

The Peace being Concluded some time after, *France* having no mind to part so soon with so delicate a Bit, would not at first shew its intentions, but still contriving a Colour to keep *Deux-Ponts*, it be-thought it self of its Right of Dependancy, and demanded of the King of *Sueden* to pay it Fealty and Homage for it. This Pretension, which was wholly new, surprized extreamly the King of *Sueden*, but as this Country is far distant from his Territories, most of his Ministers already concluded that he should wink upon the matter, and not fall at variance with *France*, when *France*, which had only started this difficulty, that it might not restore what it held, caused Duke *Adolphus* to intervene that so, until they were agreed together upon the matter, it might still remain in its possession.

Thus

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Thus just as it had stripped the old Duke in his Life-time, who went to dye of vexation far from his own Dominions, so does it now dispoil two Princes in the very flower and vigour of their Lives For without entring into Discussion to whom this State belongs , either to the King of *Sueden* , or to Duke *Adolphus* , it is probable to say , that if it cannot keep it for it self , it will rather give it to Prince Palatine of *Birkenfeld* than restorc it to either of the two . For it would be afraid , if it fell into the hands of the King of *Sueden* , of encreasing the Power of a Prince who would not easily be won to be its friend , and it might believe the same thing of Duke *Adolphus* , whose true Interests are , ever to continue well united with the Head of his Fatnily.

Now it must needs be no small mortification to the Palatine House , to see so great a number of its Princes become subjects in so short a time . For in fine , besides that he who shall have the Dutchy of *Deux-Ponts* , that , if in case *France* does give it to any Body , will be obliged to pay it Fealty and Homage , how many others are there , who groan at this day

day in their Bonds. The Prince of *Petites Pierres* can say something to this matter, if the unhappy example of one of his Relations did not perhaps oblige him to hold his Peace. I mean the Prince of *Weldens*, who by having had the Soul of a Prince, and resolving to keep himself in the Rank, which God had conferred upon him by his Birth, would now be reduced to dye of hunger, if his People had not pity of him: I say reduced to dye of hunger, and you must not imagine I exaggerate, for many People know as well as I, that upon refusing to render Fealty and Homage to *France*, he was dispossessed of his Dominions, where he now lives in a borrowed House, and upon the Alms he receives from his Subjects. They also know, to what the Prince his Son is reduced; they know, I say, that his Father not having the means to give him a Manchet away, he trooped upon a little Nag, without Servants or Train, as might do the least and most inconsiderable Gentleman of *France*. They know farther that he has been too happy in putting himself into the Service of the States of *Holland*, who haye given him

him a Company of Foot, which is all he has now to subsist on.

Some or other will now perhaps ask me why the Prince of *Welden*, should all alone, stickle against an absolute Power? Why does he not yeild to the time as well as others; and in fine what great difference is there between a Vassal of the Emperor, and a Vassal of the *French* King. For in short, I know that these Discourses are commonly in the mouths, not only of those who are in the interests of the Crown of *France*, but also of several Persons, who cannot behold the misfortunes of this Prince without Compassion, and without seeking a Remedy thereunto: to this I will answer, that the Prince of *Waldens* seeing himself reduced to the ultimate necessity, he has tried all sort of means of accomodation; but could not resolve upon slavery. In effect, seeing a number of Princes of his Family had show'd him the way, he sent his Son into *France*, who offered the King on his behalf to pay him Fealty and Homage, provided he might be treated as a Prince, that is to say, possess the same

Rights

Rights and Priviledges, as he enjoyed before things changed face. But the King made a mock at these Propositions, so as that his Son was forced to come back without any effect.

Mean while if a Body may here be allowed to make some Reflection upon the present state of the Princes of *Germany*, and upon what they were in a while ago, it's no difficult matter to make appear how much those are mistaken, who think there's no difference between being a Vassal of the Emperor, and the being a Vassal of the *French* King. But I am too blame to say Vassal of the Emperor. For all the Princes of the Empire, I mean Sovereign Princes, as Electors and those of certain Houses, are indeed members of the Empire, but not Vassals of the Emperor. True, they are obliged to assist the Empire under pain of forfeiting their Priviledges, nay their States, but they are not obliged to assist the Emperor, unless the Empire is attacked. Wherefore let's conclude, that the word Vassal does not relate to Princes of *Germany*, who are Sovereigns over their Tributaries,

ries, as the Emperor may be over his  
 Who have Rights of Life and Death o-  
 ver their Subjects, imposing on 'em bur-  
 dens and Taxes according to their own  
 Fancies; and in fine, are accountable for  
 their actions only to God alone. Let's,  
 I say, Conclude, that Princes, who have  
 thus all the Badges of a Sovereign, are  
 very different from the Princes of *France*,  
 who bating that they are covered when  
 the King gives Audience to Ambassa-  
 dors, have nothing above other Subjects.  
 Nay, and a man may say they are below  
 some certain Subjects that there are; for  
 you know the Dukes and Peers take place  
 of them, and that the Princes are obliged  
 not to be at any Ceremony, that they  
 may not come after 'em. Mean while,  
 if we would look back but to the begin-  
 ning of the last Age, we should find, that  
 among those Dukes there are those whose  
 Fathers were notaries at *Paris*, and other  
 Merchants. It's well known what the  
 Descendants of one of those two Houses  
 have done not long since, to suppress the  
 knowledge of so low and so shameful an  
 Extraction. It's well known, I say, that  
 they have caused an Epitaph in the  
 Church

Church of St. *Innocent* to be taken away, and that instead of it you see one now in the *Celestins*, wherein there is as many Lies, as there are Truths in the other.

Nevertheless 'tis to men of this Extraction, that Princes who only reckon Sovereigns among their Ancestors, are obliged to give place at this day. But what say I, 'tis to men of much more lower and of a much more vile Extraction, whom the Princes of the Blood are compelled to make their Court to. It's well known that what makes a mans fortune now in *France*, is not to budge out of the Anti-chamber of a Minister ; and a Colonel of Horse, whom I could name, and every one knows as well as I, does not disdain to be the Buffoon of one of the Secretaries of State. For which reason, he has parted with his Regiment, for fear that when he was in War, another should rob him of so noble an Employment. It's also well known that while M. *Colbert*'s at Dinner, the greatest Lords study some quaint saying or other to make him laugh, and he that has had the luckiest hit that way, knocks off

off as well satisfied with his person, as if he had been the man who defended Vienna against the Turks. In fine its well known, which nevertheless People can hardly comprehend, that *Monsieur*, the Kings only Brother, is obliged to have recourse to them, for the obtaining any Boon or Favour, nay, and after he has had recourse too, he has not always what he demands. I could prove it if I would by a thousand examples what I dare here alledge, but I shall content my self with saying, that what happened a year or two ago, upon the account of a man who was very desirous to come into the Farming the Kings Customs, is a sufficient testimony. Not being able to obtain it, after having told M. *Colbert* again and again, he was obliged to speak to the King thereof.

If there was any need to enhance upon all this, to show in what consideration are the Ministers of *France*, and the fawnings & stoopings which the Princes are forced to cajole them with, I need only relate what happen'd a while ago to the Dauphin. He had asked of Mr. de *Seignelay*, the Son of the late Mr. *Colbert* a Clarks place in

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in a Ship, for the Son of one of the Officers of his Household, and Mr. de Seignelay haying granted it him with some difficulty; a while after a fancy took this Minister of a new Impression, to revoke the Clark under the pretext he was incapable of his Office. The Dauphin being informed of this told Mr. de Seignelay that he should be very glad he were re-established, and that if he had failed in any thing it was only out of Youth, that he would stand his surety that he shoud do better for the future, and that he should have no more occasion for reproach. Mr. de Seignelay after having listned to this Prince with that gravity he of late so impertinently affects, told him that he was not Master of the thing, but that he would speak of it to the King. Upon this the Dauphin not being able to endure that a man of his stamp, should receive so unworthily the honour he did him, rebuked him with such nipping words, as humbled his Pride.

Let's from hence Conclude that it's a great misfortune for a Prince to be born the Subject of the Crown of France, and a great

a great imprudence in him who is not so, to entertain any thoughts of yoking himself in such a Servitude. Let's but ask the Prince *Palatine*, who is only a Neighbour, how he likes the Neighbourhood; and I am sure he will tell us, there is little difference between his Subjects and his Neighbour. If he pretends to speak as a Prince, they'll speak to him at the same time as Master, and if he would have *France* leave her at Quiet, he must too submit himself to all its wills. Let's also ask him, whether he has now any faithful Subjects left him among so many Subjects, who obey him, and whether *France* has not debauch'd them all. Finally, let's ask him if he dare so much as complain, tho' he daily sees his Territories so Harrass'd, and whether he be not on the contrary told, That he is still too happy in being under the Protection of so great a King. Let's proceed on, I beseech you, into the Courts of other Princes of *Germany*, and let's see what passes there, before we make any Reflection on the Princes of *France*. What shall we say of the Ecclesiastical Electors, the one of whom sells his Country

Country for glittering ready Cash ;  
 through the suggestions of French Emis-  
 farys ; the others suffers himself to be  
 daunted by its *Emissaries* Menaces, and  
 the other follows so its passions, that  
 one would say, the same Interest Spi-  
 rited them both. But let's also say at  
 the same time, that all this is not suffici-  
 ent without violence. For who doubts  
 of all the Tricks it has play'd, and the  
 Cabals it has set on foot, and are now  
 daily working to detach them from  
 their true Interests. Some are told that  
 most of their States are Dependencies on  
 the Crown, and that if they do not  
 make it their busines to Court its fa-  
 vour, they will not long enjoy a thing  
 which does not appertain to them. Thus  
 while they are fleec'd of the true Character  
 of a Sovereign, which is of being Inde-  
 pendent of any body, they endeavour  
 to insinuate to them on the contrary, that  
 their Dependency on France, is the only  
 thing which can make them Reign.  
 Others are bid to consider the power it  
 has, to judge whether they have any  
 thing to hope but by its means, and while  
 they are fed with fair hopes ; their  
 People

People are encourag'd in Disobedience  
that Soveraigns may still have need of its  
succours to reprels them; nay, and  
would not say, that all Wheels are thus  
set a work, to appropriate the more ea-  
sily a State wherein each Plays the Ma-  
ster, while he, who has nothing to do  
with it, has already there got one Foot,  
and will set the other too, when he ple-  
ases, by reason of the Fortresses that are  
suffered to be demolished. Any man may  
easily gues, I now mean *Liege*, where  
*France* already holds *Dinant*, contrary to  
the Faith of Treaties, and where the Dis-  
cord of the People with their Soveraign,  
renders is as much the Mistress, as if this  
State belonged to it. For who is so blind,  
as not to perceive the Policy in this Oc-  
casion. As it was ever afraid that *Mr. de*  
*Cologn* would clear up his Eyes, it thought  
fit to have a remedy against what may  
happen; and just as it maintained the *Mes-*  
*sanezes* in their disobedience, so it fosters  
the people of *Liege* in their enterprises.  
If *M. de Cologn* would but once make reflec-  
tion that he ought to be their Soveraign.  
For in fine, if this was not its intention,  
what should now hinder *M. de Cologn* from  
reducing

reducing a Town which is open on all sides, without Succours and without Garrisons. Wherefore if he would be pleased a little to consider with himself, and mind that, the alliance of that Crown, has only served to procure him the hate of his People, and the entire ruine of his Country, without speaking of the Armies of the Empire, which after this have been obliged not to spare him, let us see how he himself has been treated, by those in whom he places all his hopes. Who but knows the horrible Contributions which *France* has raised upon his Subjects, the Desolation of the Country, the Plunder of Towns, and to lay all in a word, the Destruction of Cities and other Edifices. Who knows not what passed at *Huy*, where not satisfied with having Tyrannized over the Inhabitants, it has moreover pulled down the Castles and destroyed one of the finest Bridges there was upon the *Mense*, so that now that City is frustrated of its greatest Conveniency, by having received him within its Walls. But let's pass on to the other Princes of *Germany*, and see whether they have any more reason to be Contented with its Proceedings.

I might

I might abridge with one dash, what I have to say upon this Subject, if I would but only relate what has lately befalln the King of Denmark. For as it would be easie to judge by the treatment its Ally receives from it, the treatment which all others may expect, methinks that this should be sufficient to insinuate its violence, and how it pretends to Lord it over all the World. But as there are many who are willing to have specified what way it is the French Court takes to bring about its Designs, I mean here to give a rast of its maxims and its enterprizes.

The whole World knows how the Dauphins match with the Dauphiness was made. The consideration, the Duke of Bavaria was in, in the Empire, not only upon the account of the largeness of his Dominions, but also from their situation, was the reason he was courted by all Parties during the last War, as being able to give a great weight to that, in favour of whom he should declare. This the French King was sensible of, and therefore made him daily offers of a thousand advantageous Conditions if he

he would engage in his Interests. The Emperor on his side forgetting nothing that might win him, so as that the Duke of *Bavaria* judging of his Credit by the Caresses he received, resolved to hearken to both Parties, but to engage only with that, with whom he should find his so doing would turn to best account.

In regard of the Emperor, he only offered him an Offensive and Defensive League against *France*, whose Ambition he laid open to him, thinking it would be sufficient to render his Interests Common; but as the Duke of *Bavaria* expected something more advantageous, he listned the more willingly to the propositions of *France*, which they endeavoured to render to him the most agreeable that was possible. In effect they joyned to a world of Politick reasons, which might formerly be good, but which were nothing worth now, magnificent presents which care was taken to renew from time to time. And as Princes as well as others do pretty often suffer themselves to be tempted with those lures, he was every day more and more disposed to make

an Alliance with *France*. The Dutchess of *Bavaria*, for whom the French King had formerly some thoughts of Marriage, and who had been vex'd that it had not been brought about ; thinking she might place her Daughter on the Throne, which she her self had miss'd of possessing, push'd the Elector of *Bavaria* on to this Alliance ; but advised him at the same time, to secure the Establishment of their Daughter, who could not hope for any more advantageous Match in all *Europe*.

The Ministers of *France* quickly discovered what pass'd in the Cabinet of M. de *Bavaria* ; and thinking they should the better insinuate themselves into his Favour, if without waiting, that he should prevent them upon this point of Marriage, they should first make to him. The Proposal of it they declared to him ; they had Order from the King, their Master, to break the Matter to him ; and said the same thing to the Dutchess of *Bavaria*, which fill'd her full of joy. After this, the Ministers of the Emperor, were no longer listen'd to in any manner ; and there

was no other talk then of the future Alliance, which was upon the foundation of the Treaty, which then was making between *France* and *Bavaria*; by which the Duke of *Bavaria* promis'd to remain Neuter, which was all that *France* demanded. For as the Duke of *Bavaria* was powerfully Armed, and that he had resolved to observe the Neutrality, as long as the War should last, *France* conjectured, as it was also true, that it would create an Umbrage in the Emperor; and that this Arming would almost produce the same effect, as if M. de *Bavaria* acted openly; and indeed the issue shew'd that these Conjectures were not ill grounded. But without amusing my self, with relating what were the consequences of this matter, which all the World knows as well as I, I'll shall say, that this Alliance having subsisted untill the Treaty of Nimmeghen, the Marriage of the *Dauphin* with *Mademoiselle* of *Bavaria*, was Consummated presently after; seeing principally, there was no other Prince to be Married in Europe; nor any better Family, nor who had Nobler Quality.

Besides,

Besides, *France* thought by this means it had made sure of the House of *Bavaria*; but the Duke and Duchess of *Bavaria* being dead a little before, and their Dominions falling into the hands of a Young, though a more sagacious Prince, if the saying so may be allowable, than were his Father and his Mother, as *France* perceived; that he was not so wedded to its interests, as they had been, sought to tie him by some new Alliance. Now as there is nothing more taking, with a Young Prince, than Beauty, especially when it is built upon, and seconded with extraordinary Merit; the Ministers of *France* so ordered the matter, that those Pensioners they had about his Person, should often Discourse him about *Mademoiselle de Blois*, the Kings Natural Daughter, who appearing accom-  
plish'd, at a very tender Age, pro-  
mis'd to become, in time, one of the  
most charming Persons in the World.

The Elector of *Bavaria*, finding him-  
self a little toucht, with what was told  
him every day, or perhaps spurr'd on  
with the curiosity of knowing, whe-

ther Reputation did not make any addition to the Beauty of this Young Princess; made known that he should not be sorry to see her Picture. But the thing having been told to those who were still faithful to him, and who were jealous of his Glory, they represented to him too strongly, the Gin that was laid for his Youth; that this Prince recollecting with himself, was ashame'd, of what, perhaps, he had only done out of Curiosity.

Mean while there came from France several Pourtraicts of *Mademoiselle de Blois*; but the Ministers of that Crown, perceiving the Scandal of her Birth, destroy'd all the impressions which her Beauty might make, abandoned the Design of this Match, of which they had before conceived some hopes.

Upon this they proposed another Marriage to the Duke of *Bavaria*, and which was indeed more suitable, being of *Mademoiselle*, Sister of the Queen of *Spain*, and Daughter to the Duke of *Orleans*. But those same Ministers of his, who had been able to make him disrelish the former, found the means to dissuade

swade him too from this ; representing to him, that all this was but a Snare to divert him from the Alliance of the Emperour , whose Daughter he might be in hopes of Marrying ; which was not only a much more advantageous thing for him, but also necessary to his interest : Wherefore that it became him to open his Eyes once for all, upon the Designs of *France*, which only tended to the Ruine of the Emperor, and of all the Empire. That True it was, that it fed him from time time with fine imaginations ; as, the having him chosen King of the *Romans* ; but that at the bottom, his Design was only to disunite the Princes from one another, that when the Election came to be, she might take for her self what she then so willingly offered to others. That it was not for his interest to desire a Neighbourhood so fatal to all those who had the misfortune to be his Neighbours ; that this was no slander, and that there needed no more than to consider their condition, to make others dread falling into the like circumstances.

These Wise Councils produced all the impression that could be expected in the mind of a Prince, who loves Glory, and flies Oppression. But as this was in no wise palatable to the Ministers of France; they were so outtag'd at the refusal, which the Duke made of a Match with *Mademoiselle*, that they had the insolence to say, *That tho' the Elector had married Mademoiselle de Blois, he would not have been dishonoured.* *That there were as great Princes as He, who would, perhaps, demand her in Marriage, and yet, not obtain her.* *And that the King was sufficiently puissant to revenge himself one day for the Contempt that was made of his Alliance.* These heights gave the Duke of Bavaria to understand, how at first that Crown introduced it self by gentleness, and would afterwards establish it self by force.

But this Procedure serving only to divert him the more from this Alliance, he treated immediately with the Emperor; with whom one might say, he would find both more safety and more Glory.

Nor has the Duke of *Saxony* had more reason to commend the Conduct of *France*, who seeing that he stood wedded, as well as the Duke of *Bavaria*, to his true interest, without suffering himself to be cajoled with all their Promises, has rais'd him Enemies, both at Home and among his Neighbours ; it being well known how many Tricks and Artifices it has us'd to set him at Variance with the Princes of his own Fainily ; and which not being able to bring about, it has had recourse to Neighbouring Princes, who have given it some Jealousie, which the Emperor however, has very wisely dissipated.

As concerning the Marquis of *Brandenburgh* and the King of *Denmark*, I know nothing which can afford more aversion for that Crown, than its Conduct to those Princes. For if we consider after what manner, it introduced it self into their Confidence, we shall find it set all manner of Engines a going to bring it about ; but after having attained to what it desired, there is no

manner of hardship but what it has made 'em suffer.

Every Man knows the Proposals the Count de *Roy* made at his arrival in the North. They know, I say, that he demanded of the King of *Denmark*, on the behalf of the King his Master, that he should share in the Disposal of the Subsidies, which he received from him; adding, they were unprofitably dissipated. The same thing almost, was said to the Elector of *Brandenburgh*.

But to hinder such like Complements, from exciting the resentment of those Princes, who ought to be jealous of their Honour; they keep buzzing about them, either *Pentioners*, or *French* themselves, who mollifie things, insomuch, that those Princes being kept, as I may say, between fear and hope, know not what to determine. But let's here admire, the Policy of that Crown, which knows how to draw it's advantages from all things, even from those which would seem to be contrary to it.

The Persecution which it made Mr. *Brickman* suffer, is sufficiently blaz'd

in the World ; for he after having been a long while in the *Bastile*, for having shewn his stedfastness, was moreover obliged to leave his Country ; saying , there was nothing more to hope for him in the Service of *France*, where he had, nevertheless, consumed his Youth. But as soon as *France* knew he was gone into *Brandenburgh*, and that he had been kindly received by the *Elector* ; on a sudden its Hatred was not only appeas'd, but it would needs too Recommend him to that *Prince* ; not by it self indeed, because that would have been suspicious, but by its Generals ; insomuch , that this Recommendation, joyned to the Merits of his Person , obtained him in a short time a Regiment of Horse, with the Government of *Wesel*. And he it is it now makes use of, but slyly, to work out its Intentions : For though he does not seem trusted with its Secrets ; and that on that on the contrary, he is always speaking some Resentments of what he has suffer'd from *France*, he knows how to give the Blow upon occasion ; but a Blow too much the more

dangerous, in that it is not thought to depart from an affectionate hand.

*Bois David*, who was obliged to fly France, where he was a Brigadeer, and Collonel of Foot, for having fought a Duel with Mr. *d' Aubijoux*, has also regain'd its Favour by acting for its Interests at the Court of *Zell*, where he is settled to advantage; there occurring nothing there, but whereof Mr. *d' Louvois* is informed; and what appears the more extraordinary, is that, though there be no more remission for those who are accused of the same Crime as his is; yet he goes sometimes to *Paris*, whether it be to settle his own Affairs, or as is more probable, to Confer with Mr. *d' St. Pouange*, upon what he would not dare to trust in Letters.

All the Courts of other Princes, are thus cramm'd with Banish'd, or Discontented *French-men*. But at the same time that these Princes receive them, if a Man may not say they receive *Serpents* into their *Bosom*, one may say, at least, they ought to be very careful, not so easily to confide in them their *Secrets*. For as the Genius of the *French Nation*.

Nation is, to slip lightly into all things ; a Man may also say, that the *French* very rarely forget the Fidelity they owe their Prince ; so as that it is great Imprudence to put too much confidence in them.

But after having spoke, as I have already done of the misfortune those Princes lye under, who are in the Neighbourhood of *France* ; or that have any Engagements with that Crown ;

Let's now behold to what those are reduced, that it has lately drawn in into its Rights of Dependency.

I will say nothing, either of the Prince of *Petite*, *Pierte*, or of that of *Weldans*, since I have already spoken of them sufficiently ; but I will say something of him of *Baden*, who was no sooner of the numbers of its Subjects, than that he saw himself compell'd to give a great Pension to his Wife ; who has left him long ago without ever any persuasions being prevalent enough to get her to return to him.

To no purpose, was it for him to remonstrate that he was ready to take her again ; no regard was had to his Reasons : And the first thing they began with,

with, was to make sure of a Fund, which he was barr'd all medling with.

I pass over, in silence, the Tyranny that is exercis'd towards other Princes of less consideration: For since the Princes of Sovereign Houses are no longer spar'd, as I have made out already, there is little likelyhood that others should meet with more favour. It is not to be said what they daily suffer from these petty *Tyrants*, who of *Ministers Lacqueys*, being become *Commissaries*, and of *Commissaries, Intendants*, attribute to themselves a Sovereign Authority.

But the *French* are not contented with stripping them of their Honour; they likewise fleece them of their Estates: How many Processes do they exhibit against them; either upon the Account of the *Miltz*, or the Dues of *Vassalage*? And how many Princes, who had a while ago a power of Life and Death over their Subjects, are now compell'd to go plead against them; nay, and often lose their Processes too? For this is another piece of the *French Policy*, to uphold the *Vassals* against their *Lords*; as knowing, that as long as it has the Peo-

pleon its side, it has nothing to fear either from the *Princes*, or the *Gentlemen*, who can effect nothing without the *People*.

Thus its Interest sways over all manner of *Justice*; but it little cares, tho' it seems unjust, provided it establishes its Dominion every where, or to say rather its *Tyranny*.

If we proceed to the Usage the Gentry have met with from *France*; how many do we see ruined by Garrisons, and others still worse Treated? For let it not be thought, that it sticks at the common Forms to establish its new Power, though it the Law was, to seize the Lands of those who would not pay Fealty and Homage. How many has it Imprison'd, that by detaining at the same time, both their Estates and their Persons. Necessity should oblige them to comply with all its desires?

But the Treatment the Baron *d' Eve-*  
*mp* had met with, speaks the top of its *Tyranny*, and *Injustice*.

This Baron, is a Gentleman of Quality; and whose Family has heretofore afforded a Queen of *Sweden*. For after haying received his Fealty and Ho-  
mage.

mage it dispossess'd him, without ever any Bodies being able to give any reason for it, or that *France* it self can give any, unless, that which is well-known, that it is very willing to put it self into posession of others Estates.

There is hardly any Prince in *Europe*, but knows its Violences; and has moreover a notable Interest to repress them. But their Blindness is so terrible, that instead of uniting all together to put a stop to those unjust Courses, they seem to have conspir'd, by their Disunion, to give it the Empire of all the World. They all know it has united it self with the *Turk*, to over-run and lay *Germany* waste; the One on the one side; the Other on the other: and yet they will not unite to destroy an Enemy which endeavours to plunge them into *Slavery*.

But since I have mention'd, that it was as it were through Inadvertency that Alliance with the *Turk*; It is convenient, that I convince those who have hitherto doubted of the reality of it, by a Circumstance which has lately happened; and to which there is no reply.

Every man knows the vigorous resistance made by the *Count d<sup>r</sup> Starenberg*, Governor of *Vienna*; insomuch, that the *Grand Vizier*, often having lost an infinite number of Men before that Place, was resolved to raise the Seige if he could have retreated with Honour. For that purpose he sent back *Count Albert Caprara*, who was the Emperor's Ambassador at the Port, whom till then he would not suffer to return home to make him some Propositions for a Peace; and which were much more reasonable than those he before had offer'd. But the *Marquess d<sup>r</sup> Lépeville*, who was with the Emperor, on the behalf the *French King*, having notice of it, dispatch'd away at the same time a *Courier* to his Master, to give him notice thereof; and upon this News, *France* sent back another immediately to the *Grand Vizier*, to remonstrate him the injury he would do his Reputation, after having lost so many Men before *Vienna*, to raise the Seige so shamefully; that besides he was going to enter *Flanders*, to oblige the Princes of the *Rhine* to recall the Succors they lent the Emperor;

peror ; and that this Diversions would quickly procure him a happy success of his Enterprize.

The Courier of Mr. d' Lepeville, Arrived on Sunday, August 22. at Fontain-Bleau, that which was dispatch'd to the Grand Vizier, or to Mr. d' Lepeville, which was the same thing, departed the same day at one a Clock in the Afternoon ; and that very Afternoon, they not only proclaim'd that they were going to enter Flanders, but also the Orders were issued forth for that purpose ; insomuch, that the Grand Vizier not doubting, but that this once, at least, they would keep tack with him, and make good their Word, more than they had done before ; he since continued on the Seige, and according to all appearance, would never have quitted it, had he not been compell'd by Arms. But since I let fall, that France had failed in its Word to the Grand Vizier, it is not improper to say what was the occasion of it. Certain it is, that by a secret Treaty made between it and the Port; whereof Count Teckly was the Guardian or Feoffee, and one called

called *Bohan* the Instrument: *France* was bound to attack the Empire on the side of the *Rhine*, at the same time that the *Port* attack'd it on the side of *Hungary*.

For this purpose the *French* King was already on his Way to his Army, which was upon the Frontiers; but having learnt, that the *Turks*, whose Beginnings, had been so advantageous, that it was not to be doubted but that they would take *Vienna*, whereunto they had laid Seige; had given such a terror unto all *Germany*, that all the Princes thought themselves already lost; he would not march on, not out of any effect of Moderation, nor much less out of an effect of Christianity, but that he might not lose himself in the Opinion of all the Princes of *Germany*; for he imagined, that lying under those woful Circumstances, they would suddenly be obliged to have recourse to him; and already reckoning upon the Empire, he would not pour upon it Desolation and Terror: and this was the Cause that he now rather attacks *Spain* than the Empire: for he still hopes,

hopes, that if the *Turks* once seize on *Vienna*, that none but he will be able to oppose such mighty forces ; as if the Princes of the Empire would not rather chuse if it was a forc'd Putt, to render themselves Tributories of the *Turk* than to submit to his slavery. And indeed, without speaking further of his *Tyranny*, which is incomparably harder to support than that of the *Pagans* ; is it not probable, to say, *Consciences* will not be always *Tyranniz'd* over ; and that each Man will be allow'd to serve his *God*. There you will hear no talk of *Edicts*, which decree the Destruction of *Churches* ; nor of *Troops* which serve for *Executioners* to those who assemble upon their *Ruins* to sing there the *Praises* of the *Almighty*. But if it is easie, at least, as I imagine, to Create an Abhorrence of the *French Government* ; it is not so easie to teach the means to avoid it ; seeing principally, as I have said, all Princes seem to Conspire with it to bring *Europe* into slavery. For in fine, is it not a thing worthy both of pity, and anger, to see that in a time wherein there ought to be a general *Union* against so formidable a Power, they still

still strive to give it new Forces? For what do those think of, who have lately Elected the *Elector of Cologn*, or rather say Bishop of *Strasburgh* for the Bishop of *Munster*? Do they not know that both those Princes are entirely devoted to *France*? and tho' the *Elector of Cologn* should come to rub and open his Eyes, yet the Bishop of *Strasburgh* has so great an ascendant over him, as that he would still oblige him to continue in his error. Do they not know, that tho' the *Elector of Cologn* only loves Peace, the Bishop of *Strasburgh* only loves War? Do they not know that it was only by the means of the late *Arch-Bishop of Cologn*, and by the persuasion of the *Bishop of Strasbourg*, that *France* carried its formidable Arms into the united *Provinces*; and who then now augment the power of their Heirs, who already shew but too much passion to shackle *Europe*. They have the same Name, the same Inclination, the same Design with the *Deceas'd*. It is their same Blood, and their same Spirit. We have seen into what a hideous Precipice the *Deceas'd* had thought to have tumbled all *Germany*; and yet as if People had quite

quite forgot what has but newly happened ; they give the *Ne*, *bews* the means to execute the things which the *Uncle* had only the will to do. The one has already deliver'd the Capital City of his *Biskoprick* into the hands of the *French* ; and the other will have them still deliver the rest of *Germany*, which is already put into great Captivity by this Treason. They are willing, in a word, to find the Hands of *Holland* by the Neighborhod of a new Enemy ; and so fetter, by this means, the rest of *Europe*, which has no other hopes than in that State.

But let's put a period to a Discourse, which, besides, can operate no good effects ; since all People do not love to be so plainly told their Truths. And indeed, as much as *France* may be vex'd that I have here discovered its *Maximes* and its *Policy*, so will the other bears me an illwill for having rebuk'd em of blindness and weakness ; mean while I still cannot forbear saying, to the venture of all, that these may think that it is rendering themselves the Accomplices of all the Enterprises, which *France* shall undertake, if they do not put an end to the

Dif-

Differences, which for this long while have so divided them. For what else can a body say; we see the one is preparing to invade *Lubeck*, another *Pomerania*; others are contriving how to oppose these Designs, when on another side a much more formidable Power, meditates the reducing them all under its Obedience. They will not suffer that one Neighbour should become more powerful than the other, but make no reflection that an Enemy approaches; who not contented with having enlarged his Dominions, with great Conquests, will not content himself with remaining their neighbour.

It is for all the world, in this, just as what is pleasantly said by the Author of a certain *Lampoon*, which stole abroad about five or six months ago, upon the state of *Europe* at this day: for when he comes to speak of the *United Provinces*, he makes them say, they will not suffer the Prince of *Orange* to Reign over them; and he answers them, that they are blind and fools, since they are afraid of being bitten by the Dog, and do not see the Wolf which is just ready to devour them. In effect, all those Princes of the North, perceive that the King of *Denmark*

*mark* would willingly joyn *Hamburg* and *Lubeck* to his Crown ; but they do not perceive that *France* will quickly joyn to its Dominions, both those two Cities, and their Dominions too, unless they unite together to prevent it. They see that the Marquis of *Brandenburg* has a design of invading *Pomerania*, from which he thinks he was, without reason, excluded ; but they do not see, that while they oppose his augmenting his Power, another augments his to that degree, that they all run a risque of being suddenly oppress'd. Wherefore, what remedy is there to all these Mischiefs, unless that of forgetting the old Quarrels, to entertain a new one ? But first, those sor-did Spirits ought to be banished from Councils, who after having insinuated themselves into the favour of Princes, in reward, play 'em daily a thousand and a thousand Treasons. None but the Ancient Servants ought to be heard ; I mean those, whose fidelity have been so often tryed, we should be blame-worthy to suspect them ; for in the Age we live all People ought to be distrusted ; principally, since we daily see but too much Corruption. For in fine, Would not

*Strasburgh* still subsist, if it had had only in its bosom, Persons stock'd with Fidelity. But let's admire, I beseech you, the difference there is between the Service which *France* reaps from its Subjects, which are in the Service of other States and the Service which other States reap from their Subjects, which are in the Service of *France*. I have already shew'd, how one *Bois David*, and one *Brugmaie*, both banish'd, and both proscrib'd, as they are, yet serve for Spies to their Country, in the Courts of the Marquis of *Brandenburg*, and the Duke of *Zell*. I have shew'd, I say, what reason these Princes have to suspect theif Fidelity. But let us now see, how much on the contrary, the Fidelity of *Hasfield*, who is born the Subject of the King of *Sweden*, ought to be suspected to the King his Master.

His Birth is so well known in the World, that it would be superfluous to speak of it here, unless that I had a mind to say, that being born of a *French* Father and Mother, it is not to be wonder'd that he inherits and fosters their inclinations. Yet this may be objected to him, that after his Family haue been rais'd

from,

from nothing, if I may say so, by the benefits of the Crown of *Sweden*; and that he was born in that Kingdom; all the other Obligations ought to be effaced, insomuch, that what was a Virtue in his Father, is a Crime in him. And indeed who can think without having a contempt of his Person; that while *France* carries, it so sparkishly towards the *King* his Master, he still conspires, with it, to bring all *Germany* into *Slavery*. Was it not him who took so many Voyages to *Strasburgh*, when it was more easie for him than others to negotiate, by reason of the Language of the Country, which is familiar to him; as also, for that he was there the less suspected? Is it not he who is daily hatching *Cabals* in *Sweden*, where he knows the Great Men are discontented, by reason of the vast Estates which the King has taken from them, because they were rather Profusions than Liberties made by the Kings Predecessors? I only take to Witness the great Men of that Kingdom: and whether it be not true, that in a Debauch where seven or eight were present, one of the Company told the other, that if *Hatfields* Counsel was followed they should set up a *Teckey* among them, that is to say, a Head of

I pass maty other things o're in silence,  
 be it as it will, there's no laying but that  
*France* does well reward the services that  
 one does it. Besides his receiving good  
 Pensions from thence, and great Pretents,  
 it advances all his Family, while it ne're  
 thinks of the best Families of the Kingdom  
 which ne'retheleſſ do not a little want it.  
 He has two Brothers, one of whom is  
 ſuddenly to be a Bishop; the other an Ab-  
 bot, the King having promised it him;  
 and never failing in his word, unless we  
 except what he and his Ministers call  
 Word of State. There are ſtill two o-  
 thers, one of whom is at *Hambourg* upon  
 the account of the *French* King, a wor-  
 thy Brother of Mr. *Hasfield*, that is to ſay,  
 juſt as ready as he, to ſell *Germany*, if  
 the thing was in his power, and the o-  
 ther remains in *Sueden*, and he it is that  
 gives notice of all occurrences in that  
 Kingdom. Now all these noble Blades,  
 Sons of Mr. *Bidal*, that famous Bankrupt,  
 whom *Boileau* has not fail'd to glance  
 upon in his Satyrs, but now he is obliged  
 by an exprefs order from Court to raze  
 it out, when he puts his Works again to  
 the Press. For Mr. *Hasfield* doing ſuch

*bludon*

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mighty

mighty efforts to render his name worthy of immortality, it is but justice there should not remain so many Monuments of his Infamy.

Wherefore the means to prevent all these abuses, is to follow the Example which *France* does now it self set the world. For it not only Confiscates all the Estates of its Subjects who go into the Service of other States, but it also forbids 'em to serve under pain of Corporal punishment. Mean while if we see it has indulgence for some we can can only infer from thence, what I have noted, namely that those Persons serve for its Spies about the Princes, by whom they are employ'd, which is but too true.

Let us hence Conclude that so long as there is no Care taken to remedy these abuses, it is impossible we should be successful in our measures, and but that on the contrary *France* will have all the advantages it can desire. For can it be expected, we should happily accomplish an Enterprize, whereof *France* had long had notice before we went about to put it in execution. Moreover let's add to this, that it is not yet sufficient that a Prince should

should distrust his Ministers or change them, he must be his own Minister, and know that tho' there be one person in his Council proof again Temptation, there will be a thousand that will stoop to the lure. In effect, let him but make reflection, that hiring out himself very commonly, as at this day, is but too frequently practised, to him that gives most, his Ministers may well do the same thing, and the rather, for that they want more than he does the mony which is offered them.

There remains something to be said touching the remedy that ought to be applied to so many mischiefs, wherewith we find our selves overwhelmed at this day. But as I can only offer what several persons have said before me, I rather choose to be silent, than to repeat so many useless matters, and besides for the most part more speculative than real. For when I make reflection upon what I have read in so many passages, and heard spoken in so many places, that all Protestants ought to unite together in Default of *Catholicks*, to oppose their Common ruine, ought not we to Conclude that it is much

much more easie to reason after this manner, than to see the effect of that Argumentation. For how can they expect that the Protestants all alone should undertake a war against *France*, while the *Catholicks* are daily upon the Catch to surprize 'em. We see at this day a fair Example of their Intention, by which it is for Us to judge of the Confidence we may put therein. I mean the usage the *Protestants* meet with in *Silesia* and the other Neighbouring Provinces, at a time when they themselves are under Desolation, and stand in full need of our Assistance. But they had rather all the Empire should Perish, than slacken their Cruelties in the leaſt. The Houle of *Austria*, which above all others, is animated to our Ruine, does not ſee that the hand of God lies heavy upon it for ſo many Cruelties, for which it is accountable to his justice upon our accounts, it continues ſtill to irritate him by new forfeitures, that it may meet with no more mercy from him. It does not ſee that the Authors of all these Councels, I mean the *Jesuits*, only give it them out of Interest; It is ſtill willing to Sacrifice to them the rest

rest of the Empire, whereof it has already Sacrificed to them a good part. Meanwhile let it not be imagined, that all I here say proceeds from any natural aversion against them upon the account of my Religion, I protest before God that I hate no body, and that I would not impute to them any of our mischiefs, if I did not see that all Worthy People, even of their own Religion love 'em no more than I do. The World is sufficiently acquainted with their strange avidity to have the Estates of those four *Hungarian* Lords, whom the Emperor caused to be beheaded, to Comply rather with their pressing Instances, than for any Crime which was in them, at least, unless you will say, it is a Crime to be zealous for ones Religion. But as all I can here say would be to as little purpose, as what so many other Persons have said before me, the best I can do is to make an end, and own that our mischiefs are at such a period as well as those of all *Germany*, that none but God can save us.

**T H E   E N D.**